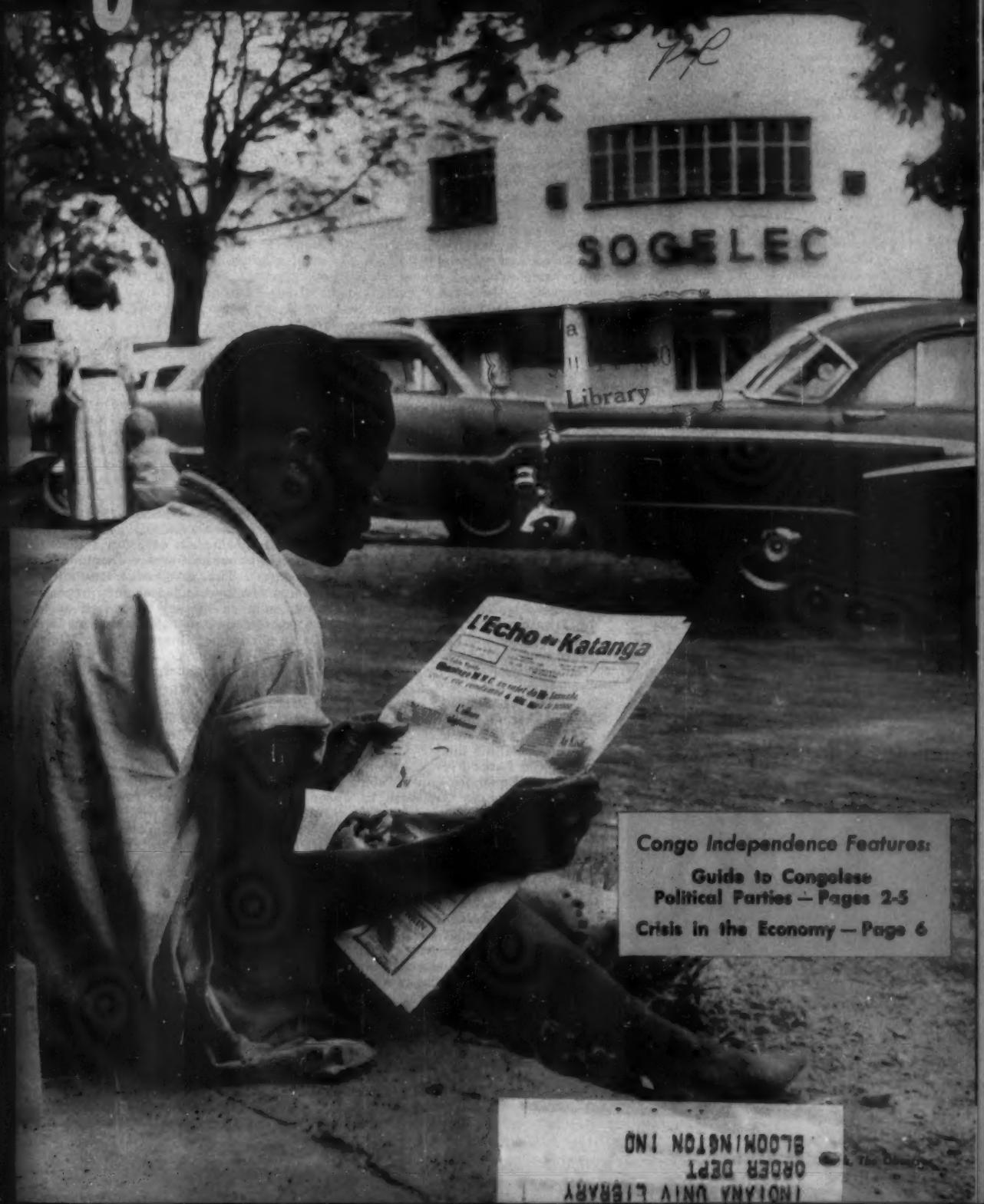


Africa

SPECIAL REPORT

June, 1960
Volume 5, Number 6



Congo Independence Features:

Guide to Congolese
Political Parties — Pages 2-5

Crisis in the Economy — Page 6

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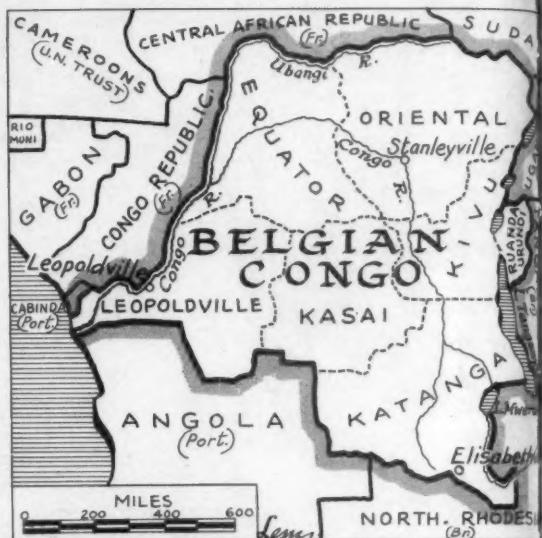
Political Party

THE colonial regime which existed in the Congo until early 1959 was based on the assumption that Belgium would govern for at least another 50 years. No Congolese participated in the governing process at any level until 1957; the higher echelons of the civil service were exclusively Belgian; political parties were non-existent; and the educational system deliberately discouraged the growth of a university-trained intellectual élite. In 1959, the literacy rate in the Congo was among the highest in Africa, but there were less than 20 university graduates among the country's 13,000,000 Africans. And although Belgium has recently established two well-conceived universities, neither has yet had time to graduate a single Congolese engineer, medical doctor, or lawyer.

For these reasons, the 40-odd political parties which have proliferated in the Congo since January 1959 are far less seasoned organisms than were their counterparts in French and British Africa at similar stages of pre-independence. Yet it would be an exaggeration to suggest that the Congo's political parties simply mushroomed out of nowhere, for almost all of them have their roots in some pre-1959 institution.

Most of them are tribal parties because the majority of Congolese still think in tribal rather than national terms, but also because it was logical for the tribal "cultural associations" which were encouraged during the colonial period to take on a political character when organizations were suddenly required. Those few national parties which reach across tribal lines draw their leadership from the governing cadre of urban social clubs and alumni associations which grew up around various secondary schools and other Catholic institutions in the colonial period.

On the following pages Africa Special Report presents a guide to the major parties and brief biographic sketches of the leaders.



—Russell Lenz, The Christian Science Monitor

Mouvement National Congolais (MNC)

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: Founded in October 1958, Patrice Lumumba's *Mouvement National Congolais* is the Congo's largest and most militant political party. It is active in all major urban areas, but the main MNC stronghold is in Stanleyville (Oriental Province), where Lumumba was formerly chairman of the *Cercle des Evolus*. The MNC advocates minimal political and economic ties with Belgium after independence, and proposes a highly-centralized unitary form of government as the sole means of shoring up a nation threatened by anarchy and possible secessionist movements in the Lower Congo and Katanga. Lumumba is an admirer of Ghana's Prime Minister Nkrumah, to whom he looks for advice and support. The MNC opposes nationalization of European property, but would introduce certain controls to "reduce exploitation." Party newspapers include *L'Indépendance* and *Uhuru*.

Despite Lumumba's modernist views, the MNC derives much of its strength from tactical alliances with tribally-based provincial parties which are concerned primarily with local issues. In Kasai Province, for example, MNC was allied during the election campaign with the second largest tribal party, the *Luluas-Frères*, as well as nine other minor groupings. In Katanga Province, Lumumba has established a common front with the Luluas' chief rival, the Baluba tribesmen of Jason Sendwe's *Balubakat* cartel. In Kivu Province, the *Centre de Regroupement Africain*, a united radical nationalist tribal front, was for a time an MNC affiliate; and in Leopoldville Province, *Ressortissants du Lac Leopold II (RDLK)*, a conservative front embracing several local tribal groupings, is in the MNC camp.

PRINCIPAL LEADER: The rising star of Patrice Lumumba, 34, is based primarily on his skill at political maneuvering rather than on a solid bloc of unwavering voters. A slight young man with a somewhat shapeless goatee, he is the epitome of the political personality—poised, gregarious, articulate, and, when necessary, passionate. A member of the little-known Batetela tribal confederation, Lumumba was born on July 2, 1925 in Kasai Province and, after a rudimentary education, went to work as a clerk in the Stanleyville post office.

In Stanleyville, he became chairman of the *Cercle des Evolus*; president of an indigenous Congolese labor organization, the APIC; and was a frequent contributor of quasi-political articles to several Congo newspapers, notably *La Croix du Congo*. His career was interrupted temporarily when, in 1956, he was sentenced to two years imprisonment for embezzling Post Office funds. This sentence was commuted on appeal in June 1957, and in September of that year he went to work for the BRACONGO brewery (Polar Beer), becoming commercial director of the company in August 1958. In Leopoldville, he joined a liberal, pre-political organization established by professors at Lovanium



Patrice Lumumba,
Mouvement National Congolais

Parties in the New Congo

University, an organization which developed into the *MNC* when political parties became acceptable in October 1958.

After the riots in Stanleyville in October 1959, Lumumba was sentenced to six months in prison, but was released by Belgian authorities in January 1960 so that he could attend the Roundtable in Brussels on the Congo's political future. He subsequently was appointed Orientale Province representative to the Executive College established to organize the transition to independence.

Mouvement National Congolais-Kalonji

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: The Albert Kalonji wing of the *MNC* broke with Lumumba in July 1959, largely in protest against the high degree of centralization of control in Lumumba's hands. Whereas Lumumba calls for a highly-centralized unitary state, Kalonji advocates a democratically-governed federal government for the Congo in which there would be a considerable degree of provincial autonomy. His party organization reflects this organizational concept, for decision-making is in the hands of a committee of representative leaders. Kalonji's strength lies primarily in Kasai province, and especially among his own people—the Balubas. During the election campaign, he joined an *ABAKO-PSA* cartel for tactical purposes. Press organs presenting the moderate nationalist views of *MNC-Kalonji* include *Présence Congolaise* and the weekly *La Voix du Peuple*.

PRINCIPAL LEADER: Albert Kalonji was born in Kasai Province in 1929. After three years of secondary school and four years of agricultural training at an Agricultural Center in Kasai operated by the University of Lovanium, he taught practical agriculture for two years and spent four years in government administration in his home province. In 1954, he completed a correspondence course in accounting and established himself as an independent accountant in Luluabourg, where he also became active in labor and social welfare work.

Kalonji got his first real taste of politics during the Brussels Exposition of 1958, where he served as a delegate at the Pavilion of Catholic Missions and spent his spare time talking politics with other Congolese. Returning to the Congo later that year, he plunged into the political scene and rapidly became leader of the *MNC* in Kasai Province. Kalonji's wing is strengthened by the presence of several other *MNC* intellectuals who joined him in July 1959 in making the break with Lumumba—notably Joseph Ileo, former editor of the now-defunct *Conscience Africaine*, which made history in 1956 by publishing the first Congolese nationalist manifesto; Joseph Ngulula, former editor of *Présence Congolaise* and now editor of *La Voix du Peuple*; and Cyrille Adoula, formerly vice-president of *Action Socialiste* and later of the *MNC*.



Albert Kalonji, Mouvement National Congolais-Kalonji



Joseph Kasavubu, ABAKO

The ABAKO

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: The *ABAKO* (*Alliance des Bakongos*) is primarily a tribal party of the Bakongo people. Its strength is centered in the Bakongo stronghold of Leopoldville Province, but the party's influence was heightened during the elections through tactical alliances with the Kalonji wing of the *MNC* in Kasai Province, the *Parti Solidaire Africain*, Kasai's *CONAKAT* and other anti-Lumumba provincial groupings in a frontal effort to ward off "an *MNC* dictatorship." *ABAKO* was founded in 1950 as a non-political cultural organization, but became increasingly politically-minded after Joseph Kasavubu was elected president in 1954. The party eventually came to advocate restoration of the 13th century Kingdom of the Kongo which, in modern version, would be a republic embracing Leopoldville Province and adjacent Bakongo-peopled areas of Angola and the Congo Republic. Threats of secession from the "Belgian" Congo ebbed during the election campaign, but on June 8 Kasavubu again took up a separatist position, announcing plans to establish a semi-autonomous Bakongo state, though within a "federal Congo."

Like most Congolese political parties, the *ABAKO* is an ideological potpourri. Party newspapers—principally the French-language *Notre Congo* and the Kikongo-language *Kongo Diedo*—quote Lenin and Thomas Jefferson with equal frequency, while also hailing Mr. Kasavubu as a messianic religious-political "king." The movement is organized along cellular lines at the local level, and is highly-centralized in the person of Kasavubu at the top; however, communication between the two levels is not always certain on a day-to-day basis.

Leading personalities are Joseph Kasavubu, Antoine Kingotolo, Simon Nzeza, and Joseph Yumba. Daniel Kanza, formerly vice-president of *ABAKO*, broke with Kasavubu in February 1960, and has organized a small separate wing.

PRINCIPAL LEADER: Kasavubu was born in 1910 at Kuma Dizi, Tshela Territory, in Leopoldville Province. He attended the Roman Catholic Mbata Kiela Seminary School for eight years (1928-1936) and subsequently received a teach-



Jean Bolikango, PUNA



Paul Bolya, Parti National du Progres
—Photos by Inforcongo

er's certificate in 1940 from the Kabwe Seminary in Kasai Province. After a decade of service as chief clerk in the Government General, Kasavubu joined the *ABAKO* and was elected president in 1954. He immediately began transforming it from a cultural society into a political organization. In 1957, he was elected burgomaster of the commune of Dendale and took the occasion of his installation to spring one of the first cautiously nationalistic speeches in modern Congolese history. He was arrested after the January 1959 Leopoldville riots, but released in March of the same year.

Kasavubu, acutely conscious of the strong tribal traditions of the Bakongo people, has enhanced his political strength by enshrouding himself in a unique religious mystique combining both tribal animism and certain aspects of Christian revivalism. As a burgomaster, he held court swathed in leopard robes, and he has never discouraged personal adulation. But at the conference table in Brussels or holding an interview in his office in Leopoldville, Kasavubu presents quite a different picture: a stoutish, soft-spoken, bespectacled figure in a conservative Western business suit, he looks and talks more like a prosperous middle-class merchant than a mystic.

Centre De Regroupement Africain (CERA)

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: A united nationalist tribal front of socialist orientation in Kivu Province, standing in bitter opposition to the province's settler-oriented *Alliance Rurale Progressiste*. *CERA* calls for far-reaching land reforms aimed at redistributing land in Africans' favor. During the early stages of the recent election campaign, *CERA* collaborated closely with the Lumumba *MNC*; but on May 25 President Anicet Kashamura changed his mind and bitterly attacked Lumumba as a "potential dictator" who had intimidated members of opposition parties in Kivu Province.

PRINCIPAL LEADER: Anicet Kashamura, leading personality of *CERA*, has been Kivu Province's official representative on the interim Executive Council which was assigned the task of working out the transition to independence. Kashamura is an accounting clerk by profession and training, but has had a long and varied career. He is attracted to Marxist solutions and, according to Belgian newspaper reports, toured several Soviet Bloc nations on a "visit of inquiry" during the Brussels Roundtable Conference in early 1960.

Parti Unite Nationale Africaine (PUNA)

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: The *PUNA*, formerly known as *Assoreco*, the *Interfederale*, and more recently as *Front d'Unite Bangala*, represents a new stage in the long effort of Jean Bolikango to spread out from his own Bangala tribal base to integrate diversified points of view into a single national party of moderate orientation. Although Bolikango had by the end of 1959 established a delicate coalition of 25 non-extremist parties under the *PUNA* label, the actual influence of his organization is limited by the widespread suspicion that Bolikango's effort enjoys Belgian approval and because his Bangala tribal base is located in the *ABAKO* stronghold of Leopoldville.

PRINCIPAL LEADER: Jean Bolikango, "elder statesman" among the Congolese political leaders, has been trying to form multi-tribal organizations in the Congo for nearly 15 years. In 1946, he was president of *ADAPES*, an association of more than 15,000 former students of a Catholic order, and in the same year he was one of the founders of *l'UNISCO*, a multi-racial study group established in Leopoldville to seek social improvement of the Congolese. He made an abortive attempt to bring Joseph Kasavubu of the opposing Bakongo into *UNISCO* in the hope of bridging the Bangala-Bakongo split in Leopoldville, but this did not work out. In 1959, he formed his Bangala following into a party and immediately set out to establish coalitions with other tribal groups as an intermediate step toward his long-term goal of unification of all Congolese political parties.

Bilikango's label as a Belgian favorite derives in part from his progress up through the Congolese bureaucracy over the past two decades to become, in 1959, Assistant Commissioner-General of Information—the highest-ranking African in a colonial regime notably lacking in Africans of professional status. During the February conference in Brussels, where the timetable for independence was established, Bolikango proved himself personally popular, most intelligent, and an able negotiator.

Parti National Du Progres (PNP)

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: The *PNP* is a moderate nationalist party containing much of the Congo's intellectual elite within its leadership ranks. It was founded November 1959 at Coquilhatville, absorbing 27 local groupings from various provinces. Principal strength is in Leopoldville and Equatorial Provinces, but here, as elsewhere, it is handicapped politically by a pro-Belgian label. Draws its principal support from Belgian settlers and the Bayaka tribe's *Luka* party. Opposed universal suffrage for the 1959 elections and advocates allowing Belgian residents eligibility for office in the new state. Principal press outlet is *Congo Libre*. Leaders include Paul Bolya, Albert Delvaux, Antoine Lopes, Jacques M'Bilo, and J. P. Dericoyard.

Africa

Special Report

AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT is published monthly at Suite 505, Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.

Cable: AFRAM, WASHINGTON

Editorial Staff:

Helen Kitchen, Editor

Gayle Quisenberry, Editorial Assistant

Margaret O'Neill, Circulation

Karvey Glickman, Book Editor

Okon Idem, Library

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Second class postage is paid at Washington, D.C.

By surface mail, all countries \$1.00

By air mail, U.S. and Canada \$3.00

By air mail, all other countries \$4.90

Payable in U.S. currency to Africa Special Report, Suite 505, Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.

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PRINCIPAL LEADER: Paul Bolya is an earnest man of moderate views who demonstrated the broad range of his acceptability when he was chosen president of the PNP coalition at its founding in November 1959. Long active in political and pre-political movements in the Congo, Bolya was another member of the "revolutionary elite" which cut its political teeth during off-hours conversations at the Brussels Exposition in 1958.

Bolya was born on October 10, 1924 in Bangala, Equateur Province. After six years of primary school, he enrolled with the Brothers of Christian Schools at Bamanya and ultimately was awarded a degree as a medical assistant. He was a candidate for communal office in Leopoldville during the December 1957 elections, but was heavily defeated by the ABAKO. He was appointed attaché in the cabinet of the Governor of Equateur Province in June 1959.

CONAKAT

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: Centered in Katanga, the Congo's richest province, CONAKAT (*Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga*) is supported by settled and prosperous African middle class elements, white settlers, and Belgian mining interests. Advocates a Belgocongolese "Katanga for the Katangais" tied by a loose federal arrangement to the other five provinces of the Congo. Principal opposition is the unitary-minded Balubakat cartel of Jason Sendwe. CONAKAT is vehemently opposed to the participation of "alien" Kasai peoples in Katanga politics, even though they compose half the labor force in the mines.

PRINCIPAL LEADER: Moise Tshombe, born in Musumba in 1919, is a successful and strong-willed businessman who was educated by American Methodist missionaries. He enjoys the confidence and support of the powerful mining concern, *Union Minière du Katanga*; he is outspokenly pro-Belgian. His recent alliance with the anti-Belgian ABAKO movement derives from a common opposition to a unitary state.

Balubakat Cartel

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: The Balubakat Cartel is a coalition of three tribally-based Congolese nationalist groups in Katanga, united primarily by their fervent opposition to the rival CONAKAT, which is denounced as a Belgian tool. The cartel is composed of the Balubakat, led by Jason Sendwe; the Fedeka, led by Isaac Kalonji; and the Atear, led by Ambroise Mahunga.

PRINCIPAL LEADER: Jason Sendwe, Methodist-educated head of the Balubakat in the Katanga, was born in Katanga in 1917; he received special course instruction and certification as a hospital attendant at Elizabethville as a youth, and later graduated as a medical assistant in Leopoldville. He developed an excellent reputation as a medical assistant in the Katanga, and his rapid rise to prominence as a Baluba activist and a spokesman for Congolese nationalism did not come as a surprise. He is popular with other political leaders and has been mentioned as a possible compromise candidate for Prime Minister.

Parti Solidaire Africain (PSA)

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: An urban party, founded in Leopoldville in April 1959 by former students from the Kwanga and Kwele districts. First advocated a strong unitary state and de-tribalization of Congolese politics, but for tactical reasons vis-a-vis ABAKO strength in Leopoldville had to play to tribal issues in establishing a consortium of the opposing Bambala peoples. In still another sharp policy turn, it subsequently joined forces with the ABAKO and MNC-Kalonji to stop Lumumba in the recent election campaign. Condemns Congo's proposed membership in the European Common Market and opposes all "neo-colonialism."

PRINCIPAL LEADER: Antoine Gizenga, president of the PSA, attended a seminary at Kinzambi, and later served on the staff of the Catholic mission of Leopoldville.

Parti Du Peuple (PP)

ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE: A small but flamboyant urban party centered in Leopoldville, led by militant Marxist. Originally founded in January 1958 as the *Action Socialiste* party and renamed *Parti du Peuple* in April 1959. Previously advocated a strong unitary state, but since May 1959 has supported a federal system. Principal press organ is a fortnightly called *Emancipation*.

PRINCIPAL LEADER: President Alphonse Nguvulu was born in 1922 at Vista. He served for a number of years as a chief clerk in the Government General, and during this period joined the APIC, a labor union of Congolese civil servants. In 1956, he joined the Belgian General Federation of Labor, and was subsequently a most active partisan and second vice-president. Ran for office as a socialist in the December 1957 communal elections in Leopoldville, but was heavily defeated. A month later, he formed the *Action Socialiste*. Belgian sources report that the *Parti du Peuple* is Communist-influenced.

The Congo's Economic Crisis

By ALBERT P. DISDIER

From the economic point of view, the Congo could not be moving toward independence at a worse time. The deficit in the ordinary budget for 1959 is expected to reach at least 2.5 billion francs (\$50,000,000); the budget stabilization fund has now been exhausted; and additional taxation is neither wise nor practicable because new taxes and duties imposed since January 1960 already bring the total return from this source to nearly 25 percent of the gross national product. In short, the Congo is entering upon independence with a financial burden comparable to that of a highly developed European state, under a government lacking any real experience in either administration or fiscal management.

One might compare the new Congolese Government to a widow who has been left considerable wealth but discovers shortly before the funeral that her liquid assets are gone. With no experience at all in managing a complex business, she must begin almost at once making decisions of a very technical nature. It soon becomes clear that, if she is to enjoy any of the benefits of her wealth, she will have to swallow her pride and seek some help and advice. Belgium clearly hopes to be accepted as the indispensable friend-of-the-family in helping the widow transform her wealth into prosperity.

Potential is Impressive

Certainly the potential is there. None of the Congo's current financial difficulties can detract from the impressive richness of its natural resources. Sixty percent of the world's cobalt, 70 percent of its industrial diamonds, and about 10 percent of its copper and tin come from the Congo. And though minerals account for three fifths of the country's total exports, still the variety of exports is greater than that of any African country except the Union of South Africa. The gross national product—more than a billion dollars in 1958—is slightly larger than the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland's and is exceeded in Africa south of the Sahara only by that of Nigeria and the Union.

Besides many locally-consumed agricultural products produced within the northern and southern savannah

areas, there are exportable surpluses of palm oil products, rubber, coffee, bananas, tea, and cotton. With the exception of tea, moreover, the Africans themselves account for a significant and growing share of this agricultural production. Although a recent decline in world food prices has affected exports, part of the overall loss has been made up by increased production.

Importance of the Congo River

The tumultuous rapids of the Congo River provide the new state with one of the world's most impressive hydroelectric potentials. Although this resource has scarcely been exploited, there is already abundant electric power for the secondary processing and production of many local commodities. Indeed, industrial and construction enterprises accounted for almost a fifth of the gross national product in 1958, and ranked second only to agriculture in GNP calculations. Long-term planners envisage the creation of a vast power complex comparable to that of the Ruhr industrial basin at the Inga Rapids near the mouth of the Congo River, at an eventual cost of \$3.5 billion. Full development of the Inga Rapids Project would yield an installed capacity of more than 25,000,000 kilowatts, which is more than 10 times that of the Grand Coulee dam in the western United States. A modest beginning toward this goal is included in the projected second Ten Year Plan (1960-70)—specifically, the development of facilities costing between \$200,000,000 and \$300,000,000 to serve as the nucleus of an aluminum industry.

Transportation is the only fundamental weakness in the Congo's basic economic potential. The country is landlocked except for its one natural outlet, the all-important Congo River. This waterway serves as the principle route for external trade, but it is so rough that goods must be expensively unloaded and transferred to other means of transport a number of times between the eastern part of the country and the Atlantic. To a large degree the country's railway and road systems have been developed to serve as connecting links or extensions of the inland waterways. Forty percent of the expenditure envisaged under the first 1950-60 Ten Year Plan were ear-

marked for this crucial sector of the economy.

On balance, the Belgians can be justifiably proud of their economic achievements in the Congo. Few colonies have developed either so far or so quickly; none has shown such concern for the native inhabitant's share in the growth. The Belgians applied "job reservation," but with opposite intent from that of South Africa: they excluded Europeans from jobs that Africans could do. The effect is most obvious when one observes the African driving a train or running a steam-shovel in Katanga Province just across the border from Northern Rhodesia where he is not regarded as "ready" for any but a few tasks above the menial level.

Belgium's Africanization policy stopped short of the higher levels of industry and administration, however, because prior to 1959 all planning was based on an assumption of indefinite colonial rule and very slow political advance. At the time Belgium's colonial policy was sharply reversed in January 1959 and independence promised, no Congolese had yet been trained as an engineer, and there were no Africans in the upper fields of the civil or technical services of the government. This absence of Africans trained to deal with—or even understand—the managerial problems of an economy as complex as that of the Congo poses very serious problems in the next few years. And the present declining fiscal situation in the Congo, which is already straining the skills of Belgium's best experts, is not conducive to in-service training!

Sources of the Crisis

How did the Congo, with only four years ago a prosperous, growing economy, fall into its present predicament? In the first place, it was unduly hard hit by the world recession that began in 1957. The country's inability to rebound quickly from the effects of the recession rests in part with Belgian economic planners for failure to provide the economy with an adequate cushion against a slump in world prices for its exports. This situation was compounded by the flight of capital precipitated by the political events since early 1959. The neighboring Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland—which is dependent on an even narrower range of exports and also suffered from the sharp fall in copper prices—recovered much more quickly, apparently because the Federation's fiscal policy based development programming on a lower level of copper returns. This conservative basic calculation, reinforced by a series of "belt tightenings" in the last five years, permitted the Rhodesians to weather the storm more easily than the Congo did. There is no current talk in the Federation about impending monetary or trade restrictions.

Until 1958, the Congo's credit was good and the country could finance

development projects easily in foreign financial markets. The public debt remained well below the market value of its own investment portfolio. Since 1958, however, the value of these holdings, as quoted on the Brussels market, has declined by about 50 percent and the public debt of \$850,000,000 now exceeds the value of the state's investment holdings.

The Congo is also faced now with a serious problem in its balance of payments. While 1959 will probably show an improved position in merchandise trade account, which has always been favorable, the country continues to suffer from a net outflow of private capital. In 1959, the year independence was announced, the outflow reached more than \$70,000,000, and it continues at an even more rapid rate. The London *Economist* recently reported that the "financial hemorrhage" had been about \$28,000,000 in the 45 days between December 15, 1959 and January 31, 1960 alone. Belgium has been forced by this drain and continuing budget deficits to seek at least \$200,000,000 in external aid to shore up the Congo's financial position for the next year or so. Of this amount, Belgium came to the Congo's

The Author

Albert P. Dissier is an economist who has been employed in long-term research on Africa's economic problems and prospects for the past 10 years. He is now with the Development Loan Fund in Washington, where he is Loan Officer specializing in Africa.

assistance with a grant of \$10,000,000 last year, and this year will provide a loan of at least \$55,000,000; these were the first instances of substantial Belgian financial assistance to the Congo since the vast Central African territory became a Belgian colony. Other emergency measures taken lately have included: an agreement by major companies operating in the Congo to make advance payments of taxes, royalties and dividends; a short term loan of \$20,000,000 on the New York market; a long term loan of \$40,000,000 from the World Bank; and financial guarantees to the Congo Central Bank by the National Bank of Belgium.

Stopgap Measures?

Cynics see these as stopgap steps which will only postpone the final reckoning and are calculated to solve none of the Congo's basic problems. But even if these measures only bolster the government's fiscal position in the crucial period of political transition ahead and slow the rate of capital outflow, this could be enough to turn the trick. For what is needed now is time for the new Congolese government to be formed and to make the painful political decisions which are a prerequisite for any fundamental



Aerial view of Leopoldville's commercial center.

—Infercongo

improvements in the fiscal outlook. If economic development plans are to be reevaluated and keyed to the country's real overall earning capacity, Congolese leaders will have to impose some cutback, not only in capital investment, but also in the present schemes for rapidly expanding social services. And if foreign investors' confidence is to be restored, there will have to be early legislation indicating that the climate for such investment is favorable. Given the excessive fragmentation of political parties in the Congo, it may be difficult to obtain clear-cut lines of action on these basically political issues.

Alternatives Open

Some Congolese leaders have suggested nationalization of industries as a means of reducing the degree of interrelationship with Belgium and balancing the books. For political reasons, nationalization cannot be ruled out, but its economic importance would be minor because the Congo Government already owns a large share of major companies or extracts a substantial slice of profits as royalties.

This economic pattern began in the late nineteenth century, when charter companies were first granted concessions. The State then retained certain interests in the form of equity share holdings, or claimed royalties based on profits. Today the Congo receives two thirds of the annual profits of the Comite Special du Katanga (which controls Union Miniere), almost one third of the profits of the Comite National de Kivu, one half of the profits of both the Societe Miniere du Beeka and Beeka Manganeses, and three fifths of the profits of the Central Bank. In 1958 the Congo government's investment portfolio was valued at \$750,000,000 and its earnings

for that year totaled \$25,000,000.

Alternatively, the government might try to sell its present investment holdings, but one can hardly imagine a present-day African government relinquishing control of any basic public facilities. And even without the political obstacle, such a step would involve grave economic consequences. These holdings are mainly transport and mining shares allotted in exchange for concessions. Selling either of these properties would risk upsetting two of the most vital sectors of the economy.

There are obviously no simple answers to the Congo's economic problems, and it seems likely that even maintaining the present situation is beyond the abilities and training of Congolese. The Belgians would like to be allowed to supply the necessary trained personnel because of their experience and their enormous financial stakes in the future viability of the Congo. Since Belgian investors will continue for several years to furnish the greatest part of the Congo budget, they seek in return the free repatriation of their capital and transfer of their profits. While both of these proposals make sense economically, they worry Congolese politicians, who fear that they are only exchanging one kind of colonialism for another. (*Notre Congo*, the Abako party organ, recently commented: "This economic aid is, at bottom, only a disguised form of paternalistic colonialism.")

Investment is Key

Some Congolese have expressed a preference for technical and administrative assistance from the United Nations, but when they say this they are probably underestimating their needs and exaggerating the UN's re-

(Continued on page 15)

News Review

South Africa Reports Nearly 20,000 Jailed

Although continuing press censorship clouded many of the details of events in South Africa this month, even the broad outlines presented a consistently foreboding picture. These were the major developments:

• Justice Minister Francois C. Erasmus told Parliament on May 6 that 18,011 Africans had by that date been arrested and detained in police raids on African townships since the beginning of the emergency, largely for pass violations, "loitering," or "agitating." In addition, another 1,700 "political" prisoners of all races had been imprisoned under the emergency regulations, in most cases without specific charges having been filed against them.

• Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, 36-year old leader of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, received a three year prison sentence on May 8 on charges of having engineered the March campaign against the pass system. Magistrate M. J. Duplessis declined to give Sobukwe the usual option of paying a fine instead of serving the sentence. Eighteen other PAC leaders were convicted, and four acquitted.

• Exactly five weeks after the attempt to assassinate him, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd was discharged from the hospital on May 14, with a prognosis of complete recovery following further skin grafts at some future date. A week later, his Nationalist Party majority adjourned Parliament until January 20, 1961 over the angry objections of opposition deputies. The government will continue to act, for an unspecified period, under the emergency powers proclaimed March 30 to cope with racial and political unrest.

• In a policy statement read to Parliament for him just prior to adjournment, the Prime Minister stated unequivocally that the government will not revise its apartheid policies. However, he cited two forthcoming innovations—a relaxation on the proscription against the sale of alcoholic beverages to Africans and a plan to establish a new system of local councils in urban areas designed to give Africans some authority in their own city residential areas. Both measures were strongly attacked by the opposition, which suspected the local government "reform" was a disguised means to establish greater control and that the relaxation on liquor implied "the same mixture as before with an infusion of alcohol."

• The annual statement of Chairman Harry E. Oppenheimer to shareholders in the South African diamond mining company of De Beers on May 16 disclosed that the market value of the company's stock had dropped by more than \$30,000,000 in recent

months—a development which he directly attributed to the "political uncertainties." Other companies have noted slumps as great as 30 percent in the market value of their stocks.

• Hendrik Wannenberg, president of the South African Society of Journalists, has charged that newspapermen are being forcibly prevented from performing their professional duties in South Africa "by intimidation comparable to that in iron curtain countries."

• The four-year long South African treason trial ground to a virtual halt this month when Duma Knokwe, one of the 29 persons still on trial, invoked a South African law stipulating that all court proceedings may be requested in the "mother tongue" of defendants. Subsequent testimony had to be translated into Khosa and Sesuto to accommodate requests from some of the accused. Total English-language testimony in the trial to date now takes up 60 large volumes. In another trial development, the 29 defendants agreed to dismiss all their legal counsel on the grounds that further money should not be wasted on a hopeless situation.

• The Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail* reported on May 31 that David Pratt, the English-speaking farmer who shot Premier Verwoerd on April 9, would not stand trial "until the state of emergency ends." He has been transferred from a Johannesburg jail to a prison in Pretoria, the paper said.

• Justice Minister Erasmus has warned white South Africans that new riots should be expected on July 26, anniversary of the date in 1955 when a freedom charter was adopted by African organizations in Johannesburg.

Coalition Regime Sought in Cameroun

Ahmadou Ahidjo, who served as Prime Minister of Cameroun from 1958 until his election on May 9 to the newly-created post of President, has appointed his former Finance Minister, Charles Assale, as successor to the Prime Ministry. Assale promptly announced that his aim was to form a government of "wide national union" which might direct the combined political resources of the country toward restoring peace and prosperity. Four parties agreed to join Assale's 18-man cabinet, the only major holdout being the legal wing of the *Union des Population du Cameroun*. UPC Chief Mayi Matip said the offer to his party of only one ministry and one undersecretaryship was not commensurate with its strength.

In other action, the Cameroun Government announced a general amnesty on May 9 for all political outlaws on condition they hand in

their arms by the end of the month. On June 1, as the deadline expired, government security forces launched a new offensive against rebel bands in the south, killing 213. In addition, 30 prisoners and "a large quantity of arms" were taken.

French Community To Loosen Bonds

The last legal obstacle to the admittance of independent states into the French Community was removed on May 19, when the French Senate passed by 146 votes to 127 a constitutional amendment specifying a new role for independent countries.

The effect of this legislation will be to permit transformation of the Community from an organization in which France retained important centralized powers in certain key fields into a Commonwealth-like association of completely independent but "associated" states. The closeness of the vote in the Senate was not, apparently, a measure of the members' attitude toward independence for the African states, but reflected bitter disapproval of the methods used by the government to ram the legislation through.

By the first week in June, all 12 African states of the Community had jumped on the independence bandwagon. The Malagache Republic (Madagascar) and the Mali Federation of Senegal and Soudan, which signed independence agreements with France earlier this year subject to the now-approved constitutional amendments, are scheduled to become free by June 30. Concurrently with the Senate debate in Paris, leaders of the equatorial states of Chad, the Central African Republic, and the Congo Republic met in Fort Lamy, Chad to establish the Union of Central African Republics and formally request independence by June 30 too.

Gabon, which was originally to have been part of this equatorial union, has decided to seek independence on its own, but will maintain a customs and monetary union, as well as "the harmonization of defence and foreign policy" with its three neighbors. Mauritania, which made known its desire for independence several months ago, will also go it alone.

And on June 3, even Africa's staunchest defender of close ties with France announced that early independence was his country's goal. Ivory Coast Premier Houphouet-Boigny flew to Paris to hand French Premier Michel Debre a request for freedom on behalf of Niger, Dahomey, the Voltaic Republic, and his own Ivory Coast. He said these four states, which last year joined forces in a loose *Conseil d'Entente*, would shortly establish themselves as a single federation within the Community.

News Review



Prime Ministers Nkrumah of Ghana and Nehru of India compare notes at the Commonwealth Conference.

—Wide World

Apartheid Dominates Commonwealth Talks

South Africa's apartheid policies dominated both formal and informal sessions of the 1960 Commonwealth Conference in London May 3-13. Although the final 1500-word communiqué carried only an indirect reference to the bitter dispute which may yet split the Commonwealth and was far less pointed than the leaders of Ghana, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Malaya had pressed for, it nonetheless represented a defeat for South Africa's Minister of External Affairs Eric Louw. Mr. Louw, substituting for ailing Prime Minister Verwoerd, had insisted that his country's internal affairs should not be openly mentioned in the communiqué.

Because Commonwealth communiques must represent unanimous consensus, Mr. Louw had to sign a statement which contained (1) a lightly-veiled reference to the fact that all his 10 colleagues from other Commonwealth nations were opposed to his government's policies; (2) a definition of the Commonwealth as a multi-racial association which is dependent on good relations among its peoples; and (3) a refusal to agree in advance that South Africa will be able to continue in the Commonwealth if the Nationalist government carries out its announced plans to establish a republic.

The new element to be noted here is that, whereas a year ago South

Africa was debating the pros and cons of "walking out" of the Commonwealth when a republic was established, the government is now pressuring for permission to remain. Many observers conclude that the Union's growing fear of isolation is the lever which may prove to be the most effective means of influencing the human crisis below the Zambezi.

In summing up the conference, the London *Economist* found some hopeful signs for the future: "The plain speaking about South Africa that has developed during the Commonwealth Conference is not appalling; it is essential... One can only be grateful to the South African Government for having been represented... by the rocklike Mr. Louw, rather than by some misleadingly conciliatory figure. The ugly realities of the Union's present policy and future prospects have been starkly presented—the phrase is unavoidable—in black and white."

Banda Cites Macleod As Africa's "Broker"

British Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod is "the best insurance broker" that Europeans in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia could have for the future of Africa, Dr. Hastings Banda said on May 10 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, en route home to Nyasaland. Decrying European settler complaints that Mr. Macleod had "sold them out", Banda described the Colonial Secretary instead as a good friend of both sides, in that he

was fully aware that there can be no peace in Africa except by coming to terms with African nationalism.

The Nyasaland leader emphasized that freedom would make Africa's ties with the Commonwealth much stronger, while following the line of Group Captain Briggs in Kenya, Sir Roy Welensky in the Federation, or Sir Edgar Whitehead in Southern Rhodesia would mean that "Britain is going to lose us." At the same press conference, Dr. Banda said he hoped one day to see Dar-es-Salaam as the capital of a "United States of Central Africa" or a "Federation of East and Central Africa."

Accompanying Dr. Banda back to Nyasaland was Kanyama Chiume, one of his chief lieutenants in the banned Nyasaland African National Congress, who has been in exile in Britain since the 1959 emergency. There were 11,000 singing and cheering Africans at the airport at Blantyre to greet them.

No Changes in 1960 in Northern Rhodesia

Northern Rhodesia could become Africa's next point of explosion as a result of the failure of Kenneth Kaunda, president of the territory's United National Independence Party, to obtain any tangible promise of the constitutional revisions he sought during his mid-May conferences with Colonial Secretary Macleod in London. There were serious doubts among observers in Lusaka that Kaunda, whose commitment of the UNIP to non-violence is unpopular with many Rhodesian nationalists, would be able to hold his followers in line when he returned home empty-handed.

Kaunda had gone to London with a widely-publicized request for an African majority government by October—that is, a Legislative Council of 44 elected members, including 11 Europeans, 2 Asians, one Euro-African, and the rest African. He said he was prepared to retain the Colonial Office Governor, Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary, and Attorney General. October was specified as the deadline because the UNIP wanted Africans to be in control of the Northern Rhodesian Government when it takes part in the constitutional review for the Federation shortly thereafter.

In turning down the Rhodesian leader's request, Macleod took the view that it would not be right to begin discussions about constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia until after the review of the Federal constitution at the end of this year. However, he assured Mr. Kaunda that the Federal review would not be confined to governments and that delegations representative of all viewpoints would attend the conference. The Colonial

News Review

Secretary said he had been "gravely disturbed" by irresponsible UNIP propaganda raising African hopes that self-government would be achieved this year, when the Colonial Office had repeatedly made it clear that this was technically impossible.

Said Mr. Kaunda: "Mr. Macleod has asked us to help keep law and order, but he has offered my people no inducement and no encouragement that will lead them to believe that if they are patient, they will be able to share in the political developments that are taking place all around them. . . . It is not sufficient . . . that leaders like myself should believe in non-violence as a philosophy if we have no effective way of reaching our people and of organizing them, and if events all around them teach that violence has produced political dividends . . . I am alarmed by the impossible task that awaits me on my return to Northern Rhodesia."

Nyerere Takes Stand Against Corruption

Julius Nyerere, who is expected to be Tanganyika's Chief Minister when most of the reins of government pass to the elected majority of the Legislative Council in October, made it clear this month that there would be no "pie in the sky" under his administration.

In a blunt address to the Legislative Council during the budget debate on May 18, Mr. Nyerere said that corruption ranks with poverty, ignorance, and disease as one of the major problems facing the new Tanganyikan Government, and that it must be "treated ruthlessly." He referred to the prevalence of bribery and corruption among officials of trade unions, cooperatives, local governments, civil servants, and political organizations, and asserted that it was necessary to deal with corruption as an act of treason if the confidence of the Tanganyikan people in their government was to be established. Earlier in the month, Nyerere came out openly against the tendency of traditional tribal chiefs to expect gifts, which he described as "highly improper" now that they receive salaries. Justice should not be purchased, he said, with gifts of goats and chickens.

In another statement requiring considerable political courage, the leader of the Tanganyika African National Union publicly disagreed with mounting opposition demands for a reduction in the salary scale of expatriate civil servants in Tanganyika to make them commensurate with salaries paid locally-recruited officers. Nyerere said that, under his administration, higher rates would continue to be paid to expatriate specialists because "you have got to offer such salaries to attract people to come to Tanganyika."

Mr. Nyerere also made news this

month when he joined Dr. Hastings Banda of Nyasaland, who was visiting briefly in Dar-es-Salaam, in "solemnly and publicly" calling for an end to all colonial regimes in Africa. The two leaders also urged the British Government to release Jomo Kenyatta, whom they described as "our friend and colleague, whose leadership alone can bring peace and tranquility to Kenya."

Opposition Merges In South Cameroons

The two major opposition parties in the British Southern Cameroons, whose combined seats in the House of Assembly equal those of the governing Kamerun National Democratic Party, announced amalgamation of their forces on May 21. Both of the parties involved in the merger, the Kamerun National Congress and the Kamerun People's Party, oppose the government's policy of reunification with the neighboring Cameroun Republic.

With government and opposition at par in the House and some indication of further defections to the opposition at the next session, observers are predicting new elections within a few months.

"Mau Mau" Report Cites Kenyatta Role

Strong criticisms of the Kenya Government's policies and "self-deceptive" attitudes during the period leading up to the Mau Mau revolt of 1952 are contained in the 322-page *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of the Mau Mau*, issued as a British Government White Paper on May 31. The study was presumably released at this time because it documents and implicitly endorses the recent statement by Kenya Governor Sir Patrick Renison that the Kenya Government cannot accede to African pressure for the release of Jomo Kenyatta to lead the newly-established Kenya African National Union because the Kikuyu leader still represents a "danger to security."

Among the reasons cited for the growth of the Kikuyu-based Mau Mau organization into a violent revolutionary movement are:

- The deep sense of social and political frustration and resentment among the Kikuyu people, particularly over European settlement of their land; the color bar in industry, housing, education, and social life; and misdirected attempts to change certain tribal customs. In the latter category, the report cites as particularly significant the Church of Scotland's decision in 1929 to launch a campaign against the ancient Kikuyu custom of female circumcision, which was taken by many

Kikuyu as indication that the Europeans, through the missions, were intent on destroying the foundations of their tribal society.

- The deliberate exploitation of both major and minor frustrations into revolutionary fervor by Jomo Kenyatta and other African leaders, whose purpose was to "subvert the Kikuyu peoples to his will."

- The freedom accorded to Kenyatta and his associates by an ill-advised liberal government.

- The failure of the intelligence system in Kenya, which knew what was happening, to convey to the government how serious the situation actually was becoming.

- The failure of the government to control firearms.

The study, in preparation for two and a half years, was collated by F. D. Corfield, who served in various Colonial Service posts in Africa and the Middle East for 27 years, retiring in 1952 as a provincial governor in the Sudan.

Portuguese Reinforce Angola Defenses

With independence for the neighboring Belgian Congo just around the corner, the Portuguese administration in Angola is reportedly strengthening its border defenses to cut off the infiltration of agitators and nationalist propaganda across the 1,500-mile common frontier.

According to a London *Times* special correspondent who returned from a month tour of the territory in late May, about 2,000 metropolitan troops have been brought into Angola in the past 18 months, contributing to a total of nearly 20,000 troops. The army is equipped with newly-arrived Panhard armored cars, quick-firing field guns, and troop transports. There are many new barracks and other installations, including a new equipment center near Luanda. Military aircraft are expected to be based in Angola for the first time this summer, the *Times* reports, and at least two new airfields are under construction. Two motor gunboats have been patrolling the Angolan coast for the past year, and a frigate is due to join them in June.

The Congo and Cabinda Provinces are regarded as the most vulnerable areas of Angola, since they are inhabited by the same Bakongo tribe which composes the ABAKO movement of Joseph Kasavubu in the Belgian area and is also active politically in the Congo Republic. Both in Brazzaville and Leopoldville, Bakongo leaders have talked in the past year about restoring the thirteenth century Bakongo empire, which would cut into all three territories. There are some 60,000 Africans from Angola already living in the Congo, more than half of them in Leopoldville.

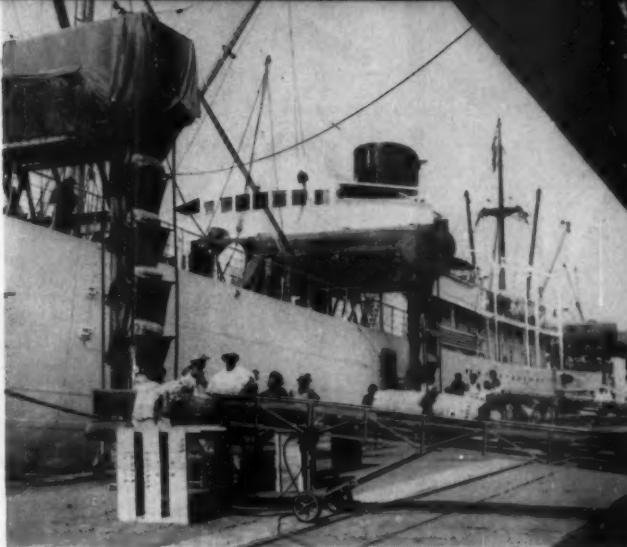
FRIA Ships First Alumina

THE FRIA bauxite mining and refining project in Guinea, key to the West African republic's economic future, announced this month shipment from Conakry of the first 6,000 tons of FRIA-made alumina. The project has been underway since 1957, when French, British, Swiss, German, and American industrialists joined forces to open up Guinea's hinterland and develop the country's proved bauxite reserves of over 200,000,000 tons.

The site of the FRIA project is about 100 miles inland at Kimbo, near the small village of Fria. Here a new town called Sabende has been built for 5,000 inhabitants, and highways and a modern railway have been constructed to facilitate removal of the alumina to the port. At Conakry, it has been necessary to expand harbor facilities to double previous capacity.

Current output of the plant is 550 tons per day, but capacity of the installations will eventually be increased to 480,000 tons a year as the FRIA stockholders' alumina needs increase. Long range plans envision later expansion to 1,200,000 tons if needed, which would make it the world's largest. The Guinea Government is putting no money into the \$150,000,000 project. The concessionary arrangement gives to Guinea substantial export mining royalties and business taxes, as well as indirect benefits to the economy.

FRIA—or, formally, FRIA *Compagnie Internationale pour la Production de L'Alumine*—is owned by Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation (48.5 percent); two French metallurgical and chemical concerns (26.5 percent); British Aluminium Company, Ltd. (10 percent);



The port at Conakry, newly-improved to cope with Fria's expected alumina production of 480,000 tons a year.

—French Cultural Services

a Swiss aluminum corporation (10 percent); and a West German aluminum concern (5 percent). President Sékou Touré of Guinea has recently given renewed public assurances that the strict exchange controls imposed in Guinea at the time of the break with the French franc zone would not affect FRIA's ability to send profits from the country.

GUINEA FRANC HOLDS

Regulations announced by the Bank of Guinea in April help complete the picture of the government's techniques for maintaining the foreign exchange value of the new Guinea franc. All foreign exchange transactions will be channelled through the Bank, the only authorized foreign exchange dealer in the country. Exports may be made only for payments in CFA francs, US dollars, French francs, sterling, German marks, and Swiss francs. Foreign exchange cannot be exported without permission, which means importers must buy their foreign exchange from the Bank.

Guinea residents are furthermore precluded from engaging in unauthorized foreign exchange transactions outside the country by a requirement that they must declare their overseas holdings. Travelers must declare their currency and checks on entry and exit. To prevent external markets in the Guinea franc, it may be neither exported nor imported.

Exchange rates are on a par with the CFA franc, but special rates may be given for individual transactions involving very large sums. Indications are that special transfer arrangements will be made for the transfer of FRIA profits, for parents who must send money through the Ministry of National Education to children studying overseas, and in other emergency situations.

The system appears comprehensive and well-conceived, and should make it possible for Guinea to maintain the

international value of the Guinea franc—providing the controls are flexible enough to be adjusted to changes in the economy and balance of payments, and providing the laws are effectively enforced.

KENYA INVESTORS UNEASY

Kenya's Minister of Finance K. Mackenzie made the first official acknowledgement that there had been an outflow of capital from Kenya in recent months, in presenting the budget to the Legislative Council on April 27. He assured the Council that the outflow had eased in April, however, and that investment was continuing to come in, though at a slower rate than in previous years. The only indication of the size of the outflow was the statement that the figure of £900,000 per week cited in the press was highly exaggerated. No measures are contemplated to restrict the free flow of capital between Kenya and the rest of the sterling area, although the Finance Minister said that he would continue to watch the situation.

TO STUDY EAST AFRICA

Sir Jeremy Raisman, deputy chairman of Lloyds Bank in England, has been named chairman of a commission to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of the present arrangements for economic and financial cooperation among Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda, and make recommendations for the future.

Subjects under consideration in-

clude the system of financial support and allocation of costs of the East Africa High Commission; various existing measures for fiscal uniformity, allocation of customs, excise, and income tax revenue among the countries; and arrangements affecting intra-regional trade in locally-produced agricultural and manufactured products. The commission is expected to begin its investigations in East Africa in July.

SUDAN-USSR PACT SIGNED

The Sudan and the Soviet Union signed in Khartoum on April 16 a barter agreement calling for the exchange of about \$8,000,000 worth of goods during the next 12 months. The Sudan will send the Soviet cotton and other crops in return for timber, cement, and light machinery from the Soviet. Some \$7,000,000 worth of goods was exchanged in the last year under a similar agreement.

NEW HOTEL IN SIERRA LEONE

With independence now scheduled for April 1961, Sierra Leone is speeding work on the new Paramount Hotel in Freetown. All movable wooden furniture in the new hotel will be constructed by the Forestry Department's Industries Branch at Kenema, which won the £8,000 contract in competition with leading furniture makers in West Africa and the UK. Estimated date for completion is December 1960.—Norman W. Mosher.



African-American Institute To Expand Its Activities

At a recent meeting, the Board of Trustees of the African-American Institute decided to expand substantially the Institute's activities. This expansion will include the opening of at least two new offices in Africa. The Trustees also authorized the officers to conduct negotiations with additional African governments which may lead to the establishment of new educational exchange programs.

In making these decisions the Trustees took the opportunity to restate the basic purposes of the Institute and principles which govern its program. The Board issued the following statement:

"The African-American Institute is guided by the belief that tolerance based on understanding is the key to peaceful and fruitful relations between both peoples and nations. It believes in the dignity of the individual and is opposed to any attitudes or actions which lead to a violation of human rights. It especially deplores and cites as cause for alarm the activities of any group or the policy of any nation which practices discrimination or segregation among people because of race or religion. Whether the discrimination practiced is officially called "apartheid" or exists in a more subtle form under another name, the Institute believes such distinctions based upon race or religion will continue to impede the true understanding so essential in today's world among peoples everywhere."

"The Institute is a private, non-profit, tax-exempt, non-political organization directed by an independent Board of Trustees. The Institute's purposes are to build friendly ties between the people of Africa and of the United States, to widen understanding of Africa in the United States and of the United States in Africa and to

assist in education and training related to the economic and social development of Africa.

"The Institute's program is designed to carry out these purposes. For example, it has helped hundreds of African students to obtain a college education. Financial assistance has been extended to African students already enrolled in American universities, as well as to students selected in Africa for Institute scholarships. This year the Institute is administering the selection of 28 four-year scholarship winners in Nigeria for 24 leading American universities and colleges. In Washington, D. C., Africa House is operated as a social and cultural center for the African students in that area and the many friends of Africa in the nation's capital.

"Another important phase of the Institute's program is the Teacher Placement Service which makes it possible for qualified American secondary school teachers to fill much-needed positions in African countries. A leader exchange program brings key Africans to the United States for several months of observation and discussion with Americans in all walks of life. The Institute sponsors lectures and publishes an objective, non-partisan news magazine, *Africa Special Report*, to encourage a fuller understanding of Africa and its diverse problems. The Institute also helps the development of better teaching materials on Africa. The Women's Africa Committee seeks to cooperate with women throughout Africa in the development of international and national activities and to assist American women to become better acquainted with the role of women in Africa."

Above Left: Ronald Ngala (second from right), chairman of the African delegation to the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London in February, takes time out from his recent six weeks tour of the US to present symbols of tribal authority to Thurgood Marshall (right), the American lawyer who acted as principal legal counsel to the Kenya delegation in London. Looking on are Mrs. Ngala and Loyd Steere, executive Vice-President of the African-American Institute. The Ngala's trip was sponsored by the Institute.

Above Right: US Congresswoman Frances Bolton, who takes an active interest in African developments, talks with Miss Cisse Aissata and Miss Seck Ramatoulaye of the Mali Federation during their visit to Capitol Hill in the course of a recent 30-day tour of the US. The girls were part of a group of 10 young Mali leaders—eight men and two women—who came here in May as guests of the US State Department's leader exchange program. Their coast-to-coast tour was programmed by the African-American Institute.

Below: Ali Sciddo, nearly-independent Somalia's Ambassador-designate to Bonn, recently toured the US as a guest of the Institute.



Will Foreign Aid Help Africa Find Itself?

By HARVEY GLICKMAN

The Afro-Asian States and Their Problems, by K. M. Panikkar, (New York: John Day and Company, 1960), 104 pages.

Americans have been conditioned to think about foreign problems solely in terms of increased demands on their pocketbooks. Indeed "more economic aid" serves as the standard oration of that growing legion of after-luncheon speakers and other forms of "expert on the African problem." So it may come as a shock to discover an incisive analysis that bluntly places the burden of development inside the emerging nations. This is the special contribution of the former Indian Ambassador to France, K. M. Panikkar, in his new book, *The Afro-Asian States and Their Problems*.

One might wonder why the author cast his net so widely in so small a space. Certainly, either Africa or Asia deserves treatment on its own. In addition, "the present volume is a slightly summarized version" of six lectures delivered at the Sorbonne, which probably accounts for the regrettable compression in the treatment of social problems and administration. Yet the core of the book remains a remarkable achievement, for Mr. Panikkar demonstrates two things: that Africa's new states can profit from Asia's example and that the solutions to their key problems—economic development, education, and scientific progress—depend mainly on the energy and perseverance of the people themselves.

An Unsettling Factor?

Mr. Panikkar does not altogether oppose outside assistance. But he notes that "the supply of large sums of money to countries which have no regular or fruitful channels of expenditure may itself become a dangerously unsettling factor." Enormous infusions of aid can promote vested interests and widen an already great chasm between rich and poor. The royalties from foreign investment need not lead to public betterment "and may indeed be said to have created contradictions in local societies which did not exist before." Secondly, new nations cannot rely wholly on technical advice from outside sources. Industrial development is not acquired "secondhand."

Much depends on reorganizing the thinking of people. Economic theories fashionable in the metropolitan countries do not apply to their former wards. For example, while planning and a heavy dose of socialism may be necessary, autarchy is not—indeed for a fragile and dependent economy it could be suicidal. Similarly, steel plants may provide a certain psychic

income, but lead many poorly endowed nations into actual bankruptcy.

In the field of education "the new states face a tremendous and almost insoluble problem." Practically everyone agrees that modernization ultimately rests on mass education. Yet the legacy of the colonial powers is meager and harsh. Nowhere is there a system of universal education. Higher education proceeds through foreign languages. Furthermore, the education that does exist is largely literary in character. Here, as in economic life, international assistance does not offer a basic solution. European education, in Africa and elsewhere, emphasizes European cultural and religious values. In actual content—though not in eventual effect—colonial education was conservative. Today, faced with the necessity for rapid change, the new states must eliminate the "moral defaitism" of the colonial system and create in the minds of young people a sense of confidence and a conception of service to the expanded community—"a new social ideal."

Science in New States

Significantly, Mr. Panikkar devotes a whole chapter to science in the new states. It is at once the most suggestive and the most pessimistic of his efforts. Recognizing that the technology of the industrial society of the future requires extremely high levels of scientific skill and achievement, he ponders the likelihood that the backward nations of today will fall even farther behind. For scientific progress demands an industrial base. It has become fantastically expensive and calls for years of intellectual labor and experience. "These factors make it impossible for many of the new states to embark seriously on a policy of scientific and technological research."

A certain tragic air pervades the discussion of these difficulties. Once again external help does not get at "the fundamental problem, that of making these nations scientifically minded and enabling them to keep pace with the march of science." Inviting outside aid on this score may, in fact, enforce permanent dependence on the advanced nations. While it is easy—and permits a kind of local gain in status—for Britain or the United States to build and run a television network or a nuclear reactor, the results exchange an increase in convenience for a loss in political power.

Furthermore, the rate of scientific advance mounts with each year. The nation that tries to "catch up" at present finds it must continually step up the pace, merely to prevent the gap from widening. The outlook, then, grows dimmer, leading inexorably to the view that the great scientific revo-

lution of our time may very well make the backward nations "more than ever dependent for all essential things on the more powerful nations."

Readers will not get from Mr. Panikkar any cosmic programs or blueprints for world development but they will be indebted to him for discussing what may be the most crucial issue of our era with perception and tough-mindedness.

Children of Their Fathers, Growing Up Among the Ngoni of Nyasaland, by Margaret Read, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 176 pages.

Sometimes a book comes along that illuminates two widely divergent areas of interest. Margaret Read's *Children of Their Fathers, Growing Up Among the Ngoni of Nyasaland* is such a book, of use to people concerned with education and child development, as well as to those who deal with African cultures and societies. Professor Read investigates "socialization," more particularly the aims and methods of a society in training its children.

This inquiry into the Ngoni represents a case-history. Both the focus and the substantive results of the study are rather intriguing. We explore the process of bringing up Ngoni children "to fit into their society and perpetuate their cultural values"—essentially a struggle of the Ngoni fathers to preserve values threatened by a new way of life. Education, widely defined, is the battleground. As one Ngoni chief remarked, "Education is very broad, very deep. It is not only in books, it is learning to live."

Briefly, Ngoni training implants respect, self-control, and generosity. Personally, the Ngoni demonstrate dignity, wisdom, and moral strength; the tribe as a whole gains in unity and in mutual understanding. Evidently, the Ngoni have achieved what many theorists of child training have preached in the United States for several years. Security for the children is provided by a wide circle of relatives who live near the home. Discipline offers a framework for childhood freedom. The frustration and rebellion associated with adolescence in the "advanced" nations of the world are dispersed in this remote corner of Africa through gradually increased social recognition and increased work responsibilities.

The Ethiopians, An Introduction to Country and People, by Edward Llendorff, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 232 pages.

Serious tourists, official visitors, and the personnel of international agencies going to Ethiopia should

read Edward Ullendorff's *The Ethiopians, An Introduction to Country and People*. With the polite (almost awe-struck) charm and dedication characteristic of true "ethiopians," the author, the Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature at the University of Manchester, scans "historic Abyssinia and the cultural manifestations of its Semitized inhabitants." He deals only briefly and formally with the politics and economics of Ethiopia today. The book is dedicated to "His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia."

AFRICA IN THE PERIODICALS:

Continuing a "round-up" of recent articles of interest in periodicals not specifically devoted to African affairs:

1. Multi-racial territories, almost by definition, command the sympathetic attention of the English-speaking world. A. C. Macdonald, "The African Affairs Board in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland," *Public Law* (London), Winter 1959, reviews the formal, legal structure of a controversial political device, concluding that it need not be scrapped in favor of a constitutional

court. William J. Barber, "The Political Economy of Central Africa's Experiment with Inter-Racial Partnership," *Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science*, vol. 25, August 1959, finds that "altered terms of economic contact between the races have created, at least temporarily, an environment more favorable to the African's economic advancement," but that the opportunity conflicts with many of the European political demands. William H. Hessler, "Kenya's Course in the 'Winds of Change,'" *The Reporter*, March 17, 1960, recapitulates the recent constitutional conference in London and sees the need for African magnanimity and European humility, if both groups are to co-operate in working the new machinery. Boris Gussman, "Problems of Adjustment in British Africa," *Civilisations*, vol. 9, No. 4, 1959, inverts the usual concerns and argues that the Europeans, suffering from "culture shock," deserve the bulk of scholarly and practical consideration in the future. Julius Lewin, "Power, Law and Race Relations in South Africa," *Political Quarterly*, vol. 30, Oct.-Dec. 1959, concludes that the failure of the English South Africans results from their narrow defense of economic liberalism, which supported their economic power but precluded their participation in the task of widening political liberty and broadening equality. They left the way clear for the positive use of power by the Afrikaners, permitting the current drift toward totalitarianism.

2. Future understanding rests on a thorough knowledge of the new social patterns in Africa. *The Sociological Review* (Great Britain), vol. 7, July 1959, is a "Special Number on Urbanism in West Africa," edited by Dr. K. L. Little. Amid the various examinations, e.g., marriage, religion, the position of women, geography, two contrasting articles make singularly interesting reading: William Bascom "Urbanism as Traditional African Pattern" and P. C. Lloyd, "The Yoruba Town Today." A particularly busy author is Hugh H. Smythe, examining social movement in West Africa in three places: "Social Change in Africa," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, vol. 19, January 1960; "Black Africa's New Power Elite," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 59, Winter 1960; "The Nigerian Elite: Some Observations," *Sociology and Social Research*, vol. 44, Sept.-Oct. 1959 (the latter two with Mabel M. Smythe).

The spate of magazines offering whole issues on Africa continues. Other recent ones include: *Syntheses* (Brussels) Dec. 1959-Jan. 1960; *The Rotarian*, vol. 56, March 1960; *Liberation*, vol. 4, January 1960; *Social Education* (Journal of the National Council of Social Studies), vol. 24, March 1960. The last-named scatters useful introductory bibliography throughout the issue.

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

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Washington Office: Suite 505, Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D. C.
West Africa Office: P.O. Box 2192, Accra, Ghana.

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American Groups Urge Boycott of South Africa

An Emergency Action Conference on South Africa, sponsored by eight American organizations and attended by some 200 persons representing labor and civic groups, convened in New York on June 1 to launch a comprehensive boycott of South Africa in an effort to help end apartheid.

The Conference adopted resolutions on the following topics:

1. US consumers should boycott goods manufactured in South Africa: diamonds, lobster tails, non-metallic minerals and furs.

2. US firms with investments in South Africa should abstain from participating in apartheid or retrench their activities within South Africa.

3. Labor unions should study possibility of refusing to unload ships with South African goods shipped to America.

4. World's Fair Committee for New York must refuse any request of the existing South African government to erect a pavilion at the fair.

5. US tourists, athletes, artists, and intellectuals should withhold participation in travel or exchanges with South Africa until apartheid is abandoned.

6. Private and official governmental agencies should refuse to participate in cultural exchange programs with South Africa if there is any discrimination in selection of personnel.

7. International Olympic Committee should ban South Africa from appearing in 1960 Rome games because of sports apartheid.

8. US Government should give official assistance to the escapees from apartheid.

9. Legislation should be enacted to withhold any US financial aid to any US corporation practicing apartheid in South Africa.

10. Major American political parties must be urged to adopt forthright planks pledging active US governmental campaign against apartheid in South Africa.

In final action, the conference voted to form a continuing South African Emergency Campaign to be coordinated by the American Committee on Africa. This campaign will stimulate the activities in the US against apartheid and will try to raise \$100,000 for defense and aid to be sent to the victims of apartheid inside South Africa.

Examiner Has New Owner

One of Africa's unique journalistic enterprises—Salisbury's fortnightly *Central African Examiner*—changed hands this month. In its May 21 issue, the magazine announced that a syndicate headed by Theodore Bull had purchased the controlling interest. Other new stockholders joining the board are Anthony D. Marshall, president of the African Research and Development Company in New York, and Andrew Liddell of Salisbury.

The *Examiner*, which was created in 1957 as an African prototype of the London *Economist*, originally was financed by the Rhodesian Selection Trust, one of the two major copper companies in the Federation, and by Sir Geoffrey Crowther, chairman of the *Economist*. The magazine's avowed liberalism pursued an unsteady and sometimes confusing course over the past two and a half years: although it has consistently advocated African advancement in industry and on the Rhodesia Railways, ends to bars on Africans in public places, and a halt to talk of "Boston tea parties," its policy on African political developments has been increasingly conservative and, since last year's emergency, increasingly close to the United Federal Party position. Last fall, the Rhodesian Selection Trust decided to withdraw financial support from the magazine. Sir Geoffrey Crowther agreed to step in as temporary proprietor until new owners could be found.

Mr. Bull, the new chairman and managing director, is a young man in his late twenties who traveled widely and had a stint with the British Army in Malaya after he finished Cambridge. Last February, he moved to Salisbury and entered the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to do a teacher's diploma, but gave up his teaching plans in favor of the call to revitalize the *Examiner*. Reputedly a dedicated liberal, he is an heir of the Alfred and Otto Beit fortune.

As his editor, he has appointed Jack Halpern, former editor and publications director of the South African Institute of Race Relations and a correspondent for the *New Statesman*. Other changes noted are the departure of former Managing Editor David Coles and Editor Ian Hess, and the resignation of Neville Bertram and H. W. Rose as directors. Present directors who are remaining in office are Sir Geoffrey Crowther, S. H. Veaus, and Herbert W. Chitepo, African barrister. Other well-known shareholders are Sir Stephen Courtald and Sir Stewart Gore-Browne.

Crowther stated as one of the conditions of sale that the "new pro-

Tribalism: Old and New

BY BARBARA WARD

ALL through Africa today, the kind of turmoil through which most of the world passed more than a thousand years ago. New nations—Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Somalia—are appearing every year. This is the age of transition from tribal society to the current form of political organization, the nation state.

Most of these new nation states consist of different tribal groups, which, though they agree on doing away with European control, do not see eye to eye on much else. In the French Congo, the last elections amounted to a tribal fight. The same possibility lies ahead in the Belgian Congo. Nigeria is a federation of three different tribal areas. And Ghana's political structure contains an undercurrent of strong tribal rivalry.

The peoples of Europe and America have long forgotten their turbulent tribal origins and are often impatient with these stubborn and sometimes bloody local struggles. But can we in the West be sure that, a few hundred years from now, our descendants will not look back on our own twentieth-century disputes with something of the same mixture of superiority and incomprehension?

A fight in the streets of Brazzaville involves a few deaths and many broken heads. But the fight between Frenchmen and Germans, three times renewed, cost millions and millions of lives and involved the entire globe. A fight between Americans and Russians might well finish the human race. In short, the tribal wars of the twen-

tieth-century white man are infinitely more lethal—and infinitely more unreasonable—than any local tribal dispute in newly emergent Africa.

The ways in which tribes develop into peaceful states may give us some hint of how we, in our turn, are to rid ourselves of the over-ranging terror of atomic war. Of course, some modern states were brought together forcibly under one head. This would seem to be the Russian route to world order. But others accepted a measure of central authority with regional autonomy, and knit their separate interests together by developing trade and other economic goals. This latter route is admittedly the more difficult and the more challenging, but it is the only route consistent with the Western dream of freedom and order.

This road cannot be followed alone. At present, Communist insensitivity blocks the way for a third of humanity. But are we in the West trying with all our vigor to build the policies and institutions of a common life with the other two thirds of the world? Too few of us realize the desperate, urgent need for a functioning world order. Too many of us feel about our separate countries much as the Bakongo or the Ashanti feels about his separate tribe.

Africa will not have peace until its tribes find higher loyalties. The advanced and developed peoples of the West face the same challenge. Only the stakes are greater and the risks of failure infinitely more dire.

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prietors must be persons independent of any political party or vested interest and of unqualifiedly liberal opinions." Mr. Bull seems to meet all of Sir Geoffrey's requirements. While the magazine will be independent, most observers anticipate that the *Examiner* under its new ownership will be more sympathetic than heretofore to Garfield Todd's Central Africa Party, to the liberals of the United Federal Party, and probably to African leaders as well.

COMING IN AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT'S JULY ISSUE:

"The Somalia-Somaliland Union: East Africa's First Independent State," by Al Castagno.

Congo's Economic Crisis

(Continued from page 7)

sources. Never has the UN stepped in to run the whole economy of a country such as the Congo. Perhaps also they are hoping that from an "impartial" body they might get pleasanter advice. In fact, whoever steps in to advise will have to tell the Congo that it cannot afford the pace of development now envisaged. No longer can it count the boom years of the early and middle fifties as typical. New planning must be cognizant—as past planning has not—of the demands of the recurrent budget, especially the maintenance charges on completed development projects.

On balance, the major determinant of Congo prosperity will be the attitudes the new regime adopts toward the foreign investor. The Congo still needs a very great deal of financial assistance to transform its wealth into stable prosperity.

Visitors

CHIEF OBAFEMI AWOLOWO, former Premier of the Western Region of Nigeria and present leader of the Opposition in the Federal House of Assembly, to arrive in the US June 29 on a private visit arranged by Louis Martin, Editor of the *Chicago Defender*. Tentative schedule includes New York, Washington, D. C., Knoxville, Detroit, Denver, Los Angeles (Democratic National Convention), and Chicago.

JAJA WACHUKU, Speaker of the Nigerian House of Representatives, here on a 60-day US State Department leader exchange grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

OLIVER TAMBO, Deputy-President of the South African National Congress (ANC), who escaped from South Africa in March, is due to arrive in the US shortly under the sponsorship of the American Committee on Africa. Available for lectures. For details of his tour, contact the American Committee on Africa, 801 Second Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

WACHUKU ABENGOWE, Chief Whip of the NCNC in the Eastern Region House of Assembly, Nigeria, here on a 60-day US State Department leader exchange grant to study American political institutions and processes. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute, 1722 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C.

JEAN CAMARA, Chief of President Sekou Toure's Secretariat and deputy of the Guinean National Assembly; and **DIOMBA MARA**, deputy of the Guinea National Assembly, both here on 60-day US State Department leader exchange grants. They plan to visit Chicago, Clarinda (Iowa), Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Chula Vista, El Centro, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Washington, D. C., Puerto Rico, Atlanta and New York. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

MARIO CORDOSO, Assistant Professor of Psychology and Education at Lovanium University in the Congo and chief representative of Patrice Lumumba's MNC at the Congo Economic Conference in Brussels in April, arrived in New York May 19 for a month's visit. The first part of his stay was spent at the UN under the auspices of the Belgian Government. His concluding schedule is programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

GEORGE B. K. MAGEZI, Secretary-General of the Uganda People's Congress and elected representative of Bunyoro District in the Uganda Legislative Council, here on a 30-day US State Department leader exchange grant. Itinerary: Denver, June 9-10; Minneapolis, June 10-12; Chicago, June 12-14; Washington, D. C., June 14-16; New York City, June 19-departure. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

KAMIL ABU SEIPH, Director of Works, Ministry of Public Works, Khartoum, Sudan, here on a 60-day US State Department leader exchange grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

BEREMAKO OGBUAGU, Public Manager of the Eastern Region Development Corporation, Nigeria, here on a US State Department leader exchange grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

DUNCAN NDEGWA, Assistant Secretary of the Kenya Treasury, here on a 120-day US State Department specialist grant. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

PATRICK FRANCIS BROMFIELD, Chief Game Warden of Bechuanaland, here until mid-July on a US State Department leader exchange grant to study American wild life. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

A group of specialists here for the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs' annual labor union program includes: **JOSEPH OLADIPO ENIGBOKAN**, Secretary-General of the Western Nigeria Development Corporation Workers' Union; **ANTHONY OLATOYE OKANLAWON**, Deputy General Secretary of the Nigeria Union of Railway Men Federated; and **BEN ABAKPOL OSUAGWU**, General Secretary of the Eastern Nigeria Civil Service Union. They will be at Michigan State University from June 6-July 15. From July 18-August 5 each will be attached to a labor organization of his choice for day-to-day observation of its operation. After a month of independent travel, the group will convene in Washington, D. C., September 6. Programmed by Raymond Doland, US Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.



Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto and Premier of Nigeria's Northern Region (above), is due in the US July 5 for approximately three weeks. His party includes Alhaji Sir Muhammadu Sanusi, Emir of Kano; G. U. Ohikere, Northern Nigeria's Minister of Works; Alhaji Isa Kaita, Northern Nigeria's Minister of Education; and Ibrahim Musa Gashash, Northern Nigeria's Minister of Land and Survey. Their private visit is arranged by the Nigerian Government in cooperation with the US State Department.

—Nigeria Liaison Office

Calendar

June 23-26: Third Annual Conference of the American Society of African Culture, to discuss "African Unities and Pan Africanism" at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Tentative list of participants includes: Melville Herskovits, Director of African Studies, Northwestern University; Rayford Logan, Department of History, Howard University; Anthony Enahoro, Nigeria; Ako Adjei, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghana; Aboyomi Cassell, Liberia; Emile Zinsou, Secretary of the African Federation Party (PFA), Dahomey; Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghana's Permanent Representative to the UN; Andrew M. Kamark, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; W. W. Rostow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Keita N'Famara, Minister of Planning, Guinea; Rashidi Kawawa, Secretary General, Tanganyika Federation of Labor; Hans Kohn, City College of New York; James S. Coleman, Director of African Studies, University of California; T.O.S. Benson, Minister of Research and Information, Nigeria; Philip Yaa, President of the Legislative Assembly, Ivory Coast; Alioune Diop, Director, Societe Africaine de Culture, Paris; William O. Brown, Director of African Studies, Boston University; and Horace Mann Bond, President of the American Society of African Culture.

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